CHAPTER 31

Continuing Divisions and New Limits, 1969–1980

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After you have studied Chapter 31 in your textbook and worked through this study guide chapter, you should be able to:

1. Discuss the problems that African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Native Americans faced in American society during the 1970s; discuss the emergence of identity politics and cultural nationalism as approaches to those problems; and discuss the extent to which these groups were successful in achieving their goals.

2. Discuss the shift in emphasis during the late 1960s and 1970s from individual opportunity to group outcomes as a remedy for discrimination and inequality; and examine the successes and failures of this concept.

3. Explain the emergence, characteristics, and goals of the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s, and discuss the successes and failures of this movement and its impact on American society.

4. Discuss the emergence, characteristics, and goals of the antifeminist and anti-abortion movements, and discuss their impact on American society during the 1970s and 1980s.

5. Explain the emergence of the gay rights movement, and discuss the movement’s goals and its impact on American society during the 1970s.

6. Discuss the course of the Vietnam War from 1969 to 1975; explain the war’s impact on Southeast Asia, American society, and Vietnam veterans; and discuss the debate in the United States over the meaning of the American experience in Vietnam.

7. Examine, evaluate, and discuss the consequences of the defense and foreign policy views, goals, and actions of the Nixon administration.

8. Discuss the domestic issues that faced the Nixon administration in the late 1960s and early 1970s; explain and evaluate the administration’s actions concerning those issues; and discuss the consequences of those actions.

9. Examine the issues and personalities and explain the outcome of the 1972 presidential election.

10. Discuss the illegal activities that constituted the Watergate scandal, and explain the threat these activities posed to constitutional government.

11. Examine the impact of the Watergate scandal on the American people, American society, and American institutions, and discuss and evaluate the reforms enacted in the scandal’s aftermath.

12. Examine the issues and personalities and explain the outcome of the 1976 presidential election.
13. Discuss Jimmy Carter’s personal and political background; examine the domestic issues and political problems that faced the Carter administration; and explain and evaluate the administration’s actions concerning those issues and problems.

14. Discuss the causes, characteristics, and consequences of the economic and energy crises of the 1970s, and explain and evaluate the attempts by the Ford and Carter administrations to deal with these crises.

15. Examine the 1970s as an era of cultural transformation, paying particular attention to:
   a. the environmental movement;
   b. technological advances;
   c. the search for spiritual fulfillment and well-being;
   d. sexuality and the family; and
   e. the idea of diversity.

16. Examine, evaluate, and discuss the consequences of the defense and foreign policy views, goals, and actions of the Carter administration.

THEMATIC GUIDE

The turbulence of the 1960s continued into the 1970s as the American people seemed to fragment into separate groups, each more concerned with its own agenda than with a broader national agenda. Minorities that had made gains toward social justice and racial equality began to emphasize their own distinct cultural identity and often favored separatism over assimilation and integration into American culture. The advocates of identity politics among young African American, Mexican American, and Native American activists argued that the government should stop viewing the American public as a collection of individuals and should instead address the needs of specific identity-based groups. Evidence of this emphasis on cultural and historical uniqueness may be seen in the emergence of African American cultural nationalism which gave rise to the “black is beautiful” movement, the creation of “Black Studies” departments at many colleges and universities, and the creation of the new holiday “Kwaanza” in 1966.

Among Mexican Americans, migrant workers under the leadership of Cesar Chávez and Delores Huerta began that group’s national movement for social justice. Using Mexican mutualistas, or cooperative associations, as their model, the strike of Mexican American migrant workers against the large grape growers of California’s San Joaquin Valley successfully fostered a nationwide consumer boycott of table grapes. This in turn led the growers to accede in 1970 to the workers’ demands for better wages and working conditions. More radical Mexican American activists, calling themselves “Chicanos,” rejected integration and assimilation into American society and argued for the liberation of “la Raza” from the oppressiveness of American culture and society. Not only were these more radical Mexican American activists successful in challenging discrimination, they also laid the groundwork for Chicano political power at the local level.

Young Native Americans, influenced by identity politics and cultural nationalism, also rejected assimilation and began to concentrate on a shared culture among all American Indians (the pan-Indian approach) rather than on distinct tribal concerns and differences.

Not only did activists among America’s ethnic and cultural minorities begin to emphasize their uniqueness as a group, American policy makers also began to stress group outcomes over individual outcomes in framing remedies for discrimination and inequality. This as well as practical concerns caused a shift in emphasis on the part of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and to the first affirmative action program, the “Philadelphia Plan,” instituted by the Nixon administration in
1969. Soon, not only was affirmative action applied to government contracts but it led corporations and educational institutions to adopt such programs as well. Critics of such programs argued that efforts to overcome past discrimination against women and minorities through numerical goals or quotas would only create discrimination against other individuals. As the economic problems of the 1970s continued and deepened, the nation witnessed a backlash against affirmative action on the part of white working-class men.

After discussing the impact of identity politics on America’s cultural, societal, and political climate in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the authors turn to a discussion of the women’s movement and to the emergence, characteristics, and goals of both moderate and radical feminists. While the diverse groups that constituted the “women’s movement” scored some notable successes in their campaign against sexism, the authors note the emergence, characteristics, and aims of the antifeminist forces that coalesced in the 1970s. Arguing in favor of “traditional” American values in the midst of a rapidly changing society, antifeminists successfully stalled ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and began to campaign actively against legalized abortion.

In addition to the activism of women and of cultural and ethnic minorities, the late 1960s and early 1970s also gave rise to gay activism and to the gay rights movement. Gay activists, inspired by the Stonewall Inn riot in June 1969, worked not only for legal equality but also adopted the identity politics of other groups by promoting Gay Pride and the creation of distinctive gay communities and lifestyles.

In “The End in Vietnam,” the authors discuss America’s continued involvement in Vietnam during the Nixon administration. Although Nixon had implied in his presidential campaign in 1968 that he would end the Vietnam War, the war continued and even widened. As Nixon implemented the policy of Vietnamization, American troops began to withdraw from Vietnam. However, at the same time Nixon, believing as Johnson had believed that American credibility was at stake, intensified the bombing of North Vietnam and began a secret bombing campaign against North Vietnamese arms depots and army sanctuaries in neutral Cambodia. Revelation of the invasion of Cambodia reinvigorated the antiwar movement and led to the disasters at Kent State University and at Jackson State. Ultimately, the United States and North Vietnam signed a cease-fire agreement in January 1973, and withdrawal of American troops began. In April 1975, however, with both the South Vietnamese and the North Vietnamese having violated the cease-fire agreement, the South Vietnamese government collapsed and Vietnam was reunified under the North’s communist government. In the aftermath of the Vietnam War, Americans began to debate its causes and consequences. Just as they had disagreed over the course and conduct of the war, they were now unable to reach any real consensus on its lessons for the nation.

Although a great deal of energy was expended on questions relating to the Vietnam War during Nixon’s presidency, Nixon considered other foreign policy matters, especially the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union, to be more important. In an attempt to create a global balance of power, Nixon and Henry Kissinger (Nixon’s national security adviser and later his secretary of state) adopted a “grand strategy.” By means of détente with the Soviet Union and the administration’s opening to the People’s Republic of China, Nixon and Kissinger sought to achieve the same goals as those of the old containment doctrine, but through accommodation rather than confrontation. Despite détente, the United States still had to respond to crises rooted in instability. Nowhere was the fragility of world stability via the grand strategy more apparent than in the Middle East, where war again broke out between the Arab states and Israel in 1973. While the Soviet Union and the United States positioned themselves by putting their armed forces on alert, OPEC imposed an oil embargo against the United States. Kissinger was able to persuade the warring parties to agree to a cease-fire; OPEC ended its embargo; and, through “shuttle diplomacy.” Kissinger persuaded Egypt and Israel to agree to a United Nations peacekeeping force in the Sinai. But many problems remained, and the instability of the region continued to be a source of tension between the United States and the Soviet Union.
President Nixon also believed, just as previous presidents had believed, in America’s right to influence the internal affairs of Third World countries. It was out of this belief and the concomitant belief that the United States should curb revolution and radicalism in the Third World, that Nixon accepted the Johnson Doctrine in Latin America, as evidenced by the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile and in attempts to prevent the radicalization of Africa.

In “Presidential Politics and the Crisis of Leadership” we look first at Nixon’s domestic agenda and discuss the question of whether that agenda was liberal, conservative, or simply pragmatic. We also find a Nixon who, with the continuation of chaos into the 1970s, was convinced that society was on the verge of anarchy and that his perceived enemies were responsible for the ills that plagued the nation. Positioning himself for his reelection campaign in 1972, Nixon followed a “southern strategy” to further attract white southerners to the Republican party. That and other factors led to Nixon’s landslide victory in the 1972 presidential election. Unfortunately, that victory did not guarantee an end to the crisis atmosphere that had plagued the nation since the late 1960s. Nixon’s obsession that he was surrounded with enemies set the stage for the Watergate scandal. Involving a series of illegal activities approved at the highest level of American government, the scandal caused more disillusionment with government and increased the somber mood of the people. Some of these activities, such as the break-in at Daniel Ellsberg’s psychiatrist’s office, had been undertaken to discredit political opponents; others, such as the paying of hush money to witnesses, were part of an elaborate cover-up.

Beyond the illegal actions, the Watergate scandal was a constitutional crisis; the “imperial presidency” threatened the balance-of-power concept embodied in the Constitution and the guarantees of individual rights embodied in the Bill of Rights. We see the constitutional nature of the crisis in the clash between the executive and judicial branches of government, the impeachment hearings undertaken by the House Judiciary Committee, and ultimately the resignation of the president. Unlike the scandals of previous administrations, the activities linked to Watergate were aimed not at financial gain but at monopolizing political power. After citing the events associated with Watergate, the authors outline and briefly evaluate congressional attempts to correct the abuses associated with the scandal.

The nation’s disillusionment with its government—disillusionment produced by the crises of the 1960s and early 1970s—intensified further when governmental leaders could not deal successfully with the disruptive economic forces of the 1970s. In “Economic Crisis” we examine the nature of the economic crisis and its causes. This section also covers the responses of the Nixon, Ford, and Carter administrations to the economic and energy crises, the continued “deindustrialization” of the American economy, the growth of the Sunbelt, the fiscal crisis experienced by some of America’s cities in the North and Midwest, and the beginnings of the tax revolt movement.

In the chapter’s penultimate section, “An Era of Cultural Transformation,” we discuss the emergence of the current environmental movement, the turn by many Americans to “born again” Christianity and to a therapeutic culture in their search for meaning and belonging in an age of conflict and limits. It was also during the 1970s that American culture witnessed a new openness about sex and a sexual revolution, both of which were factors in the changing nature of the American family. The roots of America’s emphasis on diversity may also be seen during this decade.

When Jimmy Carter assumed the presidency in 1977, he and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance at first pledged a new foreign-policy course for the United States. However, this course was challenged by Carter’s national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, by Democratic and Republican critics, and by the Soviet Union, which reacted in anger and fear to the human rights aspect of Carter’s policies. The Cold War seemed to have its own momentum. Despite the Carter administration’s achievements in Latin America and the Middle East, it was overwhelmed by critics at home, the Iranian hostage crisis, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The grain embargo, the 1980 Olympics boycott, and the Carter Doctrine all seemed more reminiscent of the containment doctrine and the sources of the Cold War than of a new course in American foreign policy. Furthermore, the excesses in which the United States had
engaged in the past in its attempts to defeat revolutionary nationalism and create stability in the Third World, protect American economic interests, and contain the Communist threat rained down on the Carter administration in the form of Islamic fundamentalism as expressed in the Iranian hostage crisis. In this crisis America’s missiles, submarines, tanks, and bombers ultimately meant nothing if the lives of the hostages were to be saved. In this atmosphere, the United States welcomed the threat to Iran by the secularist, anticommunist Saddam Hussein regime in neighboring Iraq.

Having experienced fear of cultural upheaval, disillusionment with government and with politicians, and frustrations over economic and societal crises since the mid-1960s, by the end of the 1970s America was poised for the resurgence of conservatism.

**BUILDING VOCABULARY**

Listed below are important words and terms that you need to know to get the most out of Chapter 31. They are listed in the order in which they occur in the chapter. After carefully looking through the list, (1) underline the words with which you are totally unfamiliar, (2) put a question mark by those words of which you are unsure, and (3) leave the rest alone.

As you begin to read the chapter, when you come to any of the words you’ve put question marks beside or underlined (1) slow your reading; (2) focus on the word and on its context in the sentence you’re reading; (3) if you can understand the meaning of the word from its context in the sentence or passage in which it is used, go on with your reading; (4) if it’s a word that you’ve underlined or a word that you can’t understand from its context in the sentence or passage, look it up in a dictionary and write down the definition that best applies to the context in which the word is used.

**Definitions**

incontrovertible  
surreptitiously  
scism  
diffuse  
squalid  
pervasive  
pejorative  
coherent  
precipitous  
quash  
venerable  
volatile  
tenacity  
eunuch  
sordid  
astute  
abate
IDENTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE

After studying Chapter 31 of *A People and a Nation*, you should be able to identify fully and explain the historical significance of each item listed below.

- Identify each item in the space provided. Give an explanation or description of the item. Answer the questions *who, what, where, and when.*

- Explain the historical significance of each item in the space provided. Establish the historical context in which the item exists. Establish the item as the result of or as the cause of other factors existing in the society under study. Answer this question: *What were the political, social, economic, and/or cultural consequences of this item?*
1. the Pentagon Papers
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

2. identity politics
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

3. African American cultural nationalism
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

4. Cesar Chávez and Dolores Huerta
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

5. Reies Tijerina and Rudolfo “Corky” González
   a. Identification
   b. Significance
6. the Chicano movement
   a. Identification
   
   b. Significance

7. 1969 seizure of Alcatraz Island
   a. Identification
   
   b. Significance

8. American Indian activism
   a. Identification
   
   b. Significance

9. Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act
   a. Identification
   
   b. Significance

10. affirmative action
    a. Identification
    
    b. Significance
11. the “Philadelphia Plan”
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

12. *The Feminine Mystique*
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

13. the National Organization for Women
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

14. radical feminism
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

15. the Equal Rights Amendment
   a. Identification

   b. Significance
16. Title IX of the Higher Education Act
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

17. *Our Bodies, Ourselves*
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

18. *Roe v. Wade*
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

19. Phyllis Schlafly
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

20. the gay liberation movement
   a. Identification
   b. Significance
21. Vietnamization
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

22. the invasion of Cambodia
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

23. Kent State and Jackson State
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

24. fragging
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

25. the My Lai massacre
   a. Identification

   b. Significance
26. the Christmas bombing
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

27. the Vietnam cease-fire agreement
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

28. the fall of Saigon
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

29. the “boat people”
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

30. Vietnam syndrome
   a. Identification

   b. Significance
31. the War Powers Act of 1973
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

32. post-traumatic stress disorder
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

33. Henry Kissinger
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

34. the Nixon Doctrine
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

35. détente
   a. Identification

   b. Significance
36. Nixon’s China trip
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

37. the Six Day War
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

38. the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

39. the 1973 Middle East war
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

40. the OPEC oil embargo
   a. Identification
   b. Significance
41. Salvador Allende
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

42. Nixon’s Africa policy
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

43. Nixon’s goal of devolution
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

44. Nixon’s southern strategy
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

45. George McGovern
   a. Identification

   b. Significance
46. the break-in at the Democratic National Committee’s offices  
   a. Identification  
       b. Significance

47. CREEP  
   a. Identification  
       b. Significance

48. the Plumbers  
   a. Identification  
       b. Significance

49. the Watergate cover-up and investigation  
   a. Identification  
       b. Significance

50. Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward  
   a. Identification  
       b. Significance
51. the White House tapes
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

52. Spiro Agnew’s resignation
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

53. Gerald R. Ford
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

54. the 1973 impeachment hearings of the House Judiciary Committee
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

55. Nixon’s resignation
   a. Identification

   b. Significance
56. the 1974 Budget and Impoundment Control Act
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

57. the pardon of Richard Nixon
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

58. Jimmy Carter
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

59. the environmental “superfund”
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

60. stagflation
   a. Identification

   b. Significance
61. the 1970s decline in productivity
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

62. the energy crisis of the 1970s
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

63. the deindustrialization of the American economy
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

64. population shift to the Sunbelt
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

65. the tax revolt movement
   a. Identification

   b. Significance
66. California’s Proposition 13
   a. Identification
   
   b. Significance

67. the 1970s rise in consumer debt
   a. Identification
   
   b. Significance

68. 1970s environmentalism
   a. Identification
   
   b. Significance

69. Earth Day
   a. Identification
   
   b. Significance

70. Neil Armstrong
   a. Identification
   
   b. Significance
71. the 1970s growth of evangelical and fundamentalist Christianity
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

72. the New Age movement
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

73. the “therapeutic” culture
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

74. the sexual revolution of the 1970s
   a. Identification

   b. Significance

75. the 1970s idea of “diversity”
   a. Identification

   b. Significance
76. Bakke v. University of California
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

77. Zbigniew Brzezinski versus Cyrus Vance
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

78. the Panama Canal Treaties of 1977
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

79. the Camp David Accords
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

80. the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
   a. Identification
   b. Significance
81. the Carter Doctrine
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

82. the Iranian hostage crisis
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

83. the Iranian rescue mission
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

84. Saddam Hussein
   a. Identification
   b. Significance

85. the Iran-Iraq War
   a. Identification
   b. Significance
86. Carter’s human-rights policy
   a. Identification

   b. Significance
### ORGANIZING, REVIEWING, AND USING INFORMATION

**Chart A**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presidents and the Domestic Scene</th>
<th>Nixon</th>
<th>Ford</th>
<th>Carter</th>
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<tr>
<td>Character of Election(s)—campaign styles, closeness, etc.</td>
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<td>Relations with Congress</td>
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<td>Major Features of Economy</td>
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<td>Efforts To Protect or Improve Domestic Economy</td>
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<td>Taxes, Spending, and Deficits</td>
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<td>Relations with Big Business, Labor, and the American Worker</td>
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<td>Supreme Court Appointments and Rulings</td>
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<td>Scandals</td>
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<td>Chart B</td>
<td>Presidents and the International Arena</td>
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<td>Nixon</td>
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<td>Basic View of Foreign Affairs, Doctrines Enunciated</td>
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<td>Intervention Abroad (willingness, instances, types)</td>
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<td>Cold War and American Relations with Soviet Union and China</td>
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<td>Relations with Middle Eastern Nations and the Islamic World</td>
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<td>Other (revolutions, dictators, human rights abroad, etc.)</td>
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Chart C

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<th>Changes in Roles and Attitudes</th>
<th>Movements and Activism</th>
<th>Legislative and Judicial Actions</th>
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<td>Sex and Sexuality</td>
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<td>Rights and Opportunities</td>
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IDEAS AND DETAILS

Objective 1
1. Like the younger generation of African Americans, the younger generation of Mexican American and American Indian activists in the late 1960s and early 1970s emphasized
   a. local rather than national issues.
   b. assimilation and cooperation with white society.
   c. reparations for past wrongs rather than funding for current programs.
   d. their own distinct cultures and histories.

Objective 2
2. Rather than the EEOC having to prove an employer’s intentional discrimination against an individual, some argued that it was possible to prove discrimination by
   a. relying on expert witnesses.
   b. using competency tests as evidence of a job applicant’s suitability for employment or an employee’s suitability for promotion.
   c. using statistics on the relative number of minorities hired or promoted by an employer.
   d. enlisting the aid of civil rights organizations.

Objective 3
3. In the late 1960s, radical feminists differed from the members of the National Organization for Women in which of the following ways?
   a. Radical feminists opposed the gay rights movement; the members of NOW strongly supported gay liberation.
   b. Radical feminists practiced direct action and personal politics; NOW was a traditional lobbying group.
   c. Radical feminists were concerned exclusively with political issues; NOW members were concerned only with social and economic issues.
   d. The radical feminist movement repudiated the work of Betty Friedan; NOW agreed fully with Friedan’s ideas.

Objective 4
4. Antifeminist forces were able to prevent ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment by
   a. successfully organizing a nationwide strike of working women.
   b. persuading the Senate to rescind its approval of the amendment.
   c. publishing a study that proved gender-based discrimination to be nonexistent in the United States.
   d. frightening people with false claims about what would happen if it were ratified.

Objective 5
5. The Stonewall riot
   a. marked the beginning of the gay rights movement.
   b. occurred in Atlantic City when radical feminists disrupted the 1968 Miss America contest.
   c. was the result of overreaction by the Chicago police to street demonstrations at the Democratic national convention.
   d. was an expression of black rage over the assassination of Martin Luther King.
Objective 6
6. Under the Nixon-Kissinger policy of “Vietnamization,”
   a. stability slowly returned to Indochina as the Vietnam War de-escalated.
   b. withdrawal of American troops was accompanied by increased bombing of the North and the invasion of Cambodia.
   c. the South Vietnamese army proved that it was an effective fighting force.
   d. a coalition government was established in Hanoi and the war quickly drew to a close.

Objective 6
7. In the aftermath of the Vietnam War, Americans
   a. disagreed over the lessons to be drawn from the experience.
   b. withdrew from the United Nations.
   c. vowed to support Third World revolutions.
   d. agreed to increase the powers of the president in foreign policy.

Objectives 6, 7, and 11
8. The War Powers Act required the president to
   a. withdraw troops from any foreign assignment after ten days unless Congress specifically authorized otherwise.
   b. obtain congressional approval in the commitment of U.S. forces to combat action lasting more than sixty days.
   c. get approval from Congress before sending American troops to foreign territory.
   d. get a declaration of war from Congress before sending American soldiers into a foreign war.

Objective 7
9. Which of the following correctly states a major feature of President Nixon’s foreign policy?
   a. Less military commitment to allies; more—but guarded—cooperation with the Soviet Union
   b. Greater military commitment to allies; more military pressure on the Soviet Union
   c. Fewer diplomatic concessions to China; fewer diplomatic concessions to the Soviet Union
   d. Stronger economic and diplomatic ties in Latin America and Africa; weaker economic and diplomatic ties in Europe and Asia

Objective 7
10. In 1975 Secretary of State Kissinger persuaded Israel and Egypt to accept which of the following?
    a. An autonomous Palestinian state under United Nations protection
    b. An end to hostilities and Egyptian recognition of Israel’s existence as a nation
    c. Egyptian withdrawal from Jerusalem and Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank
    d. A United Nations peacekeeping force in the Sinai

Objectives 10 and 11
11. As a result of its impeachment hearings, the House Judiciary Committee
    a. voted in favor of President Nixon’s impeachment on three of five counts.
    b. declared President Nixon to be guilty of tax fraud.
    c. chose to make no recommendation concerning the impeachment of the president.
    d. declared President Nixon to be innocent of all charges of wrongdoing.
Objectives 13 and 14
12. As a result of the dramatic increase in energy prices in the early 1970s,
   a. the nationwide unemployment rate reached 25 percent.
   b. the Nixon administration deregulated the airline and trucking industries.
   c. automobile and related industries suffered a lingering recession.
   d. President Nixon authorized the release of millions of barrels of oil from the nation’s
      strategic petroleum reserve.

Objectives 13 and 14
13. As a result of the slowing of growth in productivity during the 1970s,
   a. workers realized they could no longer expect the wage increases they had enjoyed during the
      1960s.
   b. interest rates declined.
   c. American products became less competitive in the global marketplace.
   d. business investments increased.

Objective 14
14. Which of the following was a reason for the fiscal problems of northern and midwestern cities
    such as New York and Cleveland in the 1970s?
   a. The Nixon and Ford administrations gradually eliminated federal revenue-sharing programs.
   b. The tax base of such cities shrank because of the population shift to the Sunbelt and the
      continued flight of the middle class to the suburbs.
   c. Such cities were financially overburdened by new federal laws that established a minimum
      salary level for urban sanitation workers.
   d. The annexation policies of such cities meant they had to bear the expense of expanding city
      services to newly annexed areas.

Objective 16
15. The Carter Doctrine proclaimed that the United States would intervene against Soviet aggression
    in
   a. the Persian Gulf.
   b. the Mediterranean Basin.
   c. the Indian subcontinent.
   d. Africa.

ESSAY QUESTIONS

Objective 1
1. Discuss the use of identity politics and cultural nationalism by African Americans, Mexican
   Americans, and American Indians in their attempt to deal with the problems they experienced in
   American society during the 1970s. How successful were these groups in achieving their goals?

Objective 3
2. Examine the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s and discuss its accomplishments and
   failures.
Objective 3
3. Explain the emergence of radical feminism, and discuss its impact on American society in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Objective 4
4. Explain the emergence and evaluate the goals of the antifeminist movement.

Objective 6
5. Examine the course of the Vietnam War under President Nixon. To what extent did President Nixon live up to his 1968 campaign pledge to end the war?

Objective 6
6. Discuss the domestic debate over the meaning of the American experience in Vietnam.

Objective 7
7. Explain how events in the Middle East jeopardized the Nixon-Kissinger strategy of maintaining stability among the great powers, and discuss the administration’s handling of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Objectives 10 and 11
8. Discuss the Watergate scandal as a constitutional crisis, examine President Richard Nixon’s role in the scandal, and explain the House Judiciary Committee’s decision concerning the articles of impeachment against the President.

Objective 14
9. Discuss the causes and consequences of America’s economic crisis during the 1970s, and explain and assess the handling of that crisis by America’s leaders.

Objective 16
10. Discuss President Carter’s foreign policy objectives, and explain his accomplishments and failures in attempting to achieve those objectives.
MAP EXERCISE

Refer to the map “The Middle East” in Chapter 33 to complete this exercise. You may also find it helpful to refer to a historical atlas. You will need three pens of different colors to complete this exercise. (Highlight pens may be used.)

Label each of the following on the map of the Middle East that follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Bodies of Water</th>
<th>Territories</th>
<th>Capital Cities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Gulf of Aqaba</td>
<td>Gaza Strip</td>
<td>Amman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Gulf of Suez</td>
<td>Golan Heights</td>
<td>Beirut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>Jordan River</td>
<td>Sinai Peninsula</td>
<td>Baghdad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>Mediterranean Sea</td>
<td>West Bank</td>
<td>Cairo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>Persian Gulf</td>
<td></td>
<td>Damascus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>Red Sea</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jerusalem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>Sea of Galilee</td>
<td></td>
<td>Riyadh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>Suez Canal</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tehran</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Color the map as follows:

- Use one color to denote the Jewish state after the partition of Palestine, 1947
- Use a second color to denote the territory Israel gained as a result of the War of 1948–1949
- Use a third color to denote the territory controlled by Israel after the Six-Day War, 1967
- Place backward slashes (\\/) in the Sinai Peninsula to denote that by the Egyptian-Israeli Agreements of 1975 and 1979 Israel withdrew from the Sinai in 1982.
  Do not put backward slashes in the area known as the Gaza Strip. That area was not returned to Egypt when Israel withdrew from the Sinai.
- Place forward slashes (/////) in the Golan Heights to denote that Israel annexed this area in 1981.
ANSWERS

Multiple-Choice Questions

1.  
   d. Correct. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the younger generation of Mexican American and American Indian activists, like their African American counterparts, demanded recognition of their distinct cultures and histories. This was part of the “identity politics” of the time and also fostered the concept that the diversity of cultures within the broader American culture was one of the major strengths of American society. See page 861.
   a. No. The younger generation of minority activists in the late 1960s and early 1970s did emphasize the idea that the government should base policy on the needs of identity-based groups rather than the needs of individuals. However, that is not to say that they emphasized local issues rather than national issues. See page 861.
   b. No. The younger generation of minority activists in the late 1960s and early 1970s often emphasized separatism over assimilation. See page 861.
   c. No. The younger generation of minority activists in the late 1960s and early 1970s did not generally emphasize or demand reparations for past wrongs over funding for current programs. See page 861.

2.  
   c. Correct. Within the EEOC there was a shift in emphasis from an individual, case-by-case approach to ending discrimination in employment to an emphasis on group outcomes. Therefore, some people argued that, by looking at an employer’s pattern in hiring or promoting minorities, one could establish whether or not there was a discriminatory pattern. See page 864.
   a. No. The argument that expert witnesses could be used to prove the discriminatory practices of an employer’s hiring and promotion practices was not put forward. See page 864.
   b. No. The use of competency tests to determine an individual’s suitability for employment or promotion and, therefore, to determine whether or not an employer had engaged in intentional discrimination was not an argument that was put forward. See page 864.
   d. No. It was not argued that civil rights organizations could be enlisted to prove whether or not an employer had engaged in discriminatory employment practices. See page 864.

3.  
   b. Correct. Radical feminists became involved in direct action, such as the 1968 protest at the Miss America Pageant, to achieve their goals, while NOW concentrated on lobbying for legislation and testing laws through the courts. See page 865.
   a. No. In the late 1960s radical feminists were more likely to support the gay rights movement than were members of NOW. See page 865.
   c. No. Radical feminists were concerned with the political, social, and economic inequality of women. They also challenged women’s legal inequality and sex-role stereotyping. See page 865.
   d. No. Although Friedan inspired the founding of NOW, she was not repudiated by the radical feminists. See page 865.
4. d. Correct. Antifeminist forces used scare tactics, for the most part, as part of an emotional campaign against ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. This had the desired effect, and the ERA fell three states short of ratification. See pages 866–867.

   a. No. A nationwide strike by working women was not a tactic employed by the antifeminist forces in their efforts to prevent ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. See pages 866–867.

   b. No. The Senate did not rescind its approval of this amendment. See pages 866–867.

   c. No. Antifeminist leaders such as Phyllis Schlafly refused to acknowledge the existence of gender-based discrimination, but no such study was ever conducted and the facts do not support such a conclusion. See pages 866–867.

5. a. Correct. The riot that erupted between police and the gay patrons of the Stonewall Inn in New York City is considered to be the beginning of the gay rights movement. See page 867.

   b. No. The Stonewall riot did not occur in Atlantic City and was not undertaken by radical feminists. See page 867.

   c. No. The Stonewall riot occurred in New York City and was not associated with the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago. See page 867.

   d. No. The Stonewall riot was not related to King’s assassination. See page 867.


   a. No. Nixon’s policy of Vietnamization was accompanied by other policies that further destabilized Indochina. See pages 867–868.

   c. No. The South Vietnamese army proved itself a rather ineffective fighting force, incapable of defending the South. See pages 867–868.

   d. No. Vietnamization did not bring about a coalition government, and the war did not quickly draw to a close. See pages 867–868.

7. a. Correct. Some Americans pointed to the war as an example of the softening of American resolve against communism; others questioned, among other things, the containment doctrine. See pages 869–870.


   d. No. Some Americans blamed the Vietnam experience on the “imperial presidency” and insisted that Congress retake the foreign policy power it had relinquished to the executive branch. See pages 869–870.
8. b. Correct. In an effort to put restrictions on the president’s war-making powers, the act required the chief executive to withdraw troops after sixty days (as opposed to ten days) unless Congress authorized otherwise. The act also required the president to consult with Congress “in every possible instance” before sending troops into foreign wars. See page 870.

a. No. The act did not put a ten-day limit on the commitment of U.S. troops to a “foreign assignment.” See page 870.

c. No. The president, as commander-in-chief of the armed forces, still had the authority to respond to threats to national security and send troops to foreign territory. See page 870.

d. No. The president, as commander-in-chief of the armed forces, still had the authority to respond to threats to national security and send troops into a foreign war without getting a declaration of war from Congress. See page 870.

9. a. Correct. In the Nixon Doctrine, President Nixon stated that America’s Asian allies would, in the future, have to provide for their own defense. This was an acknowledgment by the President of the limits of American power. Furthermore, another cornerstone of President Nixon’s foreign policy was détente, which called for guarded cooperation with the Soviet Union through negotiations. See page 871.

b. No. Nixon did not make a greater military commitment to America’s allies and put more military pressure on the Soviet Union, a feature of his foreign policy. See page 871.

c. No. President Nixon’s foreign policy did not feature the policy of fewer diplomatic concessions to the People’s Republic of China and the Soviet Union. See page 871.

d. No. Nixon was committed to the status quo in both Latin America and Africa and to a strengthening of economic ties with Europe and Asia. See page 871.

10. d. Correct. Kissinger, acting as mediator by shuttling back and forth between Egyptian and Israeli officials, obtained an agreement between the two nations establishing a United Nations peacekeeping force in the Sinai. See page 872.

a. No. Kissinger’s “shuttle diplomacy” did not lead to the creation of a Palestinian state. See page 872.

b. No. In spite of Kissinger’s “shuttle diplomacy,” Egypt continued to refuse to recognize Israel’s right to exist. See page 872.

c. No. Egyptian troops were not in Jerusalem and the Israelis did not withdraw from the West Bank. See page 872.

11. a. Correct. The committee voted for impeachment on three counts: obstruction of justice, defiance of a congressional subpoena, and abuse of power through the improper use of the CIA, FBI, and IRS. See page 875.

b. No. The article of impeachment accusing Nixon of demeaning the office of the presidency by misconduct of his personal financial affairs was voted down by a vote of 26 to 12. Furthermore, one cannot be declared guilty as the result of impeachment hearings. See page 875.

c. No. The committee voted on the articles of impeachment brought against Nixon and made a recommendation to the full House. See page 875.

d. No. The committee held hearings to determine if there was just cause to refer articles of impeachment to the full House, not to determine Nixon’s guilt or innocence. See page 875.
12. c. Correct. The 350 percent increase in oil prices from January 1973 to January 1974 brought double-digit inflation, slowed overall economic growth, and led to a lingering recession in the automobile and related industries. See page 878.

a. No. Although unemployment climbed to 8.5 percent in 1975, it never reached the level of 25 percent. See page 878.

b. No. The airline and trucking industries were deregulated during the Carter administration, not the Nixon administration. See page 878.

d. No. The strategic petroleum reserve was not established until 1975 under President Ford. See page 878.

13. c. Correct. The slow growth in productivity was one reason that American goods cost more than comparable foreign goods. High prices made American goods less competitive in foreign markets. See page 878.

a. No. Despite the slow growth in productivity, many workers continued to expect wage increases that would give them more purchasing power each year. See page 878.

b. No. The slow growth in productivity did not lead to a decline in interest rates. See page 878.

d. No. The slow growth in productivity did not cause an increase in business investments. See page 878.

14. b. Correct. As the population shifted from the north and midwest to the Sunbelt and as middle-class taxpayers continued their flight to the suburbs, cities such as New York and Cleveland suffered severe fiscal problems. See pages 879–880.

a. No. Nixon promoted revenue-sharing programs, and those programs continued during the Ford administration. See pages 879–880.

c. No. There were no such federal laws. See pages 879–880.

d. No. The annexation policies of cities such as New York and Cleveland did not cause the fiscal crisis of these cities in the 1970s. See pages 879–880.

15. a. Correct. In reaction to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the fall of the Shah’s government in Iran to the Khomeini regime, and the Iranian hostage crisis, President Carter announced in January 1980 that the United States would view any attempt by an outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region as an assault on the vital interests of the United States, and that such an assault would be repelled by military force if necessary. See page 884.

b. No. The Carter Doctrine was not directed toward American interests in the Mediterranean Basin. See page 884.

c. No. The Carter Doctrine was not directed toward the Indian subcontinent. See page 884.

d. No. The Carter Doctrine was not directed toward Africa. See page 884.